1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

764 that relatives of the dead person who attended the body drank the juices which came from its decay. On Nuku Hiva I was told that the treatment of bodies was distinctly a function of old men who no longer had any association with women. According to this informant, women not being *tapu*, never touch the dead. The object in oiling the body was particularly to preserve it; but in the minds of old informants, it was also for the purpose of making clear and brilliant the tattooing on the skin of the corpse. Jardin (15, p. 42) says that the head of a corpse was rubbed with [824] coconut oil, and that it was surrounded with fruits of the *kaupe (Carissa grandis)* to prevent the hair from falling out.

During the time of treatment, when the body was not covered with cloth, it was continuously fanned by relatives, doubtless to keep from it the flies, which would have interfered with the mummification. A tortoise- [293] shell fan used for this purpose was obtained by our party. The following quotation from Melville (23, p. 224) describes the fanning of dead bodies in this way on Nuku Hiva:

> Two females, of a dejected appearance, watched by its side, plaintively chanting and beating the air with large grass fans whitened with pipe-clay.

Skinning dead bodies is described on Nuku Hiva and Hiva Oa. This process was described to me as consisting in a gradual rubbing or scraping off of the surface skin only, for the sake of showing more clearly the tattooing that lay beneath. It appears, however, that sometimes, at least, the skin itself was actually removed from the body and kept in the house of the family as a sacred relic. How this was done I could not find out.

Offerings Placed With the Body

Certain offerings were placed near the dead body to aid it in securing safe passage to the next world. On Nuku Hiva these offerings consisted of a pig's head and a piece of *kava* root *(kahau kava)*. In the southern section of the group a dog was hung up on the side of the house in which lay the dead body, and a dead pig was placed under the corpse's knees, these offerings being called *tuao*, gift for the dead. Living poultry and pigs' heads were offered also at this time. As the spirit after its escape from the body was supposed to be subject to attack by evil spirits that sought to devour it, these offerings were made to attract the demons, thus giving the departing soul an opportunity to escape. The hog's head and root of *kava* were also considered to be offerings, with which the *kuhane* or spirit was to gain admittance to the lower regions. Unless the *kuhane* [775] had these offerings to present to the being that guarded the entrance to the underworld, it had no hope of reaching that region.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DEPARTMENTAL GODS

776 According to the manuscript of Père Pierre (4), the natives of the Marquesas believed in three gods of the sky: Teuutoka, Teuuhua, and Tehitikaupeka. These gods were represented as being without tattooing. Teuutoka was supposed never to have come upon the earth. Teuuhua came to teach mortals that there were three gods in the sky. Tehitikaupeka was represented in the form of a bird. It is said to have been in honor of these three gods that three cries (*hono*) were given by the ceremonial priest when human victims were presented. It was on account of this trinity that bundles of three *fau* sticks were set up on the temple platform on the occasion of the funerals of ceremonial and inspirational priests who had especial rights to divine honors. The subjects of Teuuhua were called Ati Teuuhua; those of Teuutoka, Ati Teuutoka. According to Père Pierre, no subjects were assigned to Tehitikaupeka, but at the funerals of priests the house of the dead was ornamented with braided coconut leaves or pieces of wood cut roughly in the shape of a bird in honor of this god, so that he would receive the spirit of the dead and conduct it to the sky.

Of the gods of nature and the elements, Tana-oa's (Taka-oa) name was the most prominent, since he was god of the sea and of the wind. He is referred to also as Te-fatu-moana (The-lord-of-the-sea). Atea was the god in the sense of being progenitor of all animate and inanimate things on the earth by various mothers or female elements, who may be regarded as the goddesses. For example, Uuhoa was the female progenitor of the coconut (*ehi*) by Atea. In like manner were the moons or months the children of Atea by different mothers. (See Genealogies.) Maui may be spoken of as a god of the elements in the sense that it was he who pulled up land from the sea. His grandfather Mahuike, living down below the earth, was the keeper of fire. Tupa appears to have been a god of rocks and mountains.

[805]

Tonofiti with his wife, Hanau, are given by Père Pierre (4) as the chief and chiefess of the lower regions. Ivieinui was the guardian of the gate to the upper of the lower region; Pahuamo, guardian of the gate of the middle Hades; Teikihaaotepo, guardian of the lower Hades. In legends from Hiva Oa, Te-upu-o-tonofiti is always spoken of as the chiefess of the lower world, where spirits of the dead resided.

[775]

Every occupation and activity had its deity. Thus, Tana-oa, who was god of the sea and winds, was the general patron of fishing. But each kind of fishing had its particular patron; and each tribal fishing industry had its special patrons, whose stone images were supposed to bring luck. Pupuke was the god of the sacred chanting, and of the inspirational

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

scenes of their living activity, having the same general appearance, being seen clothed, as when living. They were thought to move about mostly at night and to go silently. Many people could see such ghosts in their sleep, but there were only a few who could do so with waking eyes—natural seers or those who had been taught the art. Neither a ghost of the living nor of the dead seems to have been very greatly feared, not being conceived of as harmful except it be a ghost of a personal enemy or a ghost that had become an evil wandering spirit (*vehine hae*). Spirits of persons whose bodies were not properly tended or for whom the usual sacrifices were not offered would linger about or return to afflict the living. It was only such spirits that were to be feared: it was these who became *vehine hae*. According to Père Jean the *kuhane* of the living could go and visit those of dead relatives in Havai'i.

Père Pierre (4) describes the manner of making a seer of spirits. He says that a germinated coconut (*titupu*) was split in two pieces. Seven orbits (*kapu mata* [eye balls]?) of sacrificed victims (*heana*) were then passed over the two parts of the germinated coconut. With these two halves of coconut the eyelids of the person who was to be a seer were rubbed, after which the eyes of the initiate were washed with the water of a young coconut (*vai oe*). Thereafter he had the power of seeing ghosts at night. In connection with the above ceremony peeled *fau* stakes ornamented with braids of coconut leaves and bands of white cloth were used in some way.

Mr. Linton (20) has placed at my disposal some excellent notes on ghosts that he obtained at Atu Ona, where a man who was a noted seer was living:

> The *uhane* of well persons travels when they sleep, and the dreams are its actual experiences. It frequently makes journeys to distant parts of the island. The ghost of a sick person is especially active, wandering about all the time, even when the person is awake. The ghosts of the dead travel rapidly at first, visiting the houses of their friends and relatives, and their presence can be detected by a sweet odor. [Mr. Linton remarks that this odor was apparently connected with the oil used in embalming.] Later, after the decay of the body has set in, the ghost continues to visit the houses of its relatives and friends, but moves feebly and gives off a very unpleasant odor. The ghosts of persons who have been dead a long time are especially terrifying, some being black, some red, and some like fire. It is easy to injure the ghost of a living person, and M—— has killed a number of persons by shooting their ghosts when he saw them. If a ghost is struck or shot, the living owner, who is asleep at the time, dies instantly. In laying out the body a mark will be seen upon it at the point where the ghost was injured. Ghosts of the dead can also be shot and destroyed permanently, the ghost vanishing in a flash of fire when the bullet strikes it. M—— is believed to see ghosts constantly, and on this account never goes out at night alone. In former times the seers were usually old women, but were always specially instructed. M—— can enable another person to see a ghost by carefully pointing it out with extended arm and forefinger. It then becomes visible to anyone

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

775 sighting along his arm. The ghosts of living persons look exactly like them, but cannot speak, and seem to be unable to injure other persons. The ghosts of Europeans as well as natives are frequently seen.

Mauhane was the term applied to the spirit of a woman whose husband or son was at war or on a fishing expedition (9). Such spirits were supposed to aid the enterprise. (See Fishing.)

Actual physical death resulted upon the departure of the breath (*menava*) by way of the mouth. Absence of the soul (*uhane*) would produce, first, sickness, and then with the departure of the breath, death. On Ua Pou the mouth of a sick person was sometimes stopped to prevent death. At Pua Ma'u, the natives apparently believed that sometime after death the *menava* finally left the body, later than the *kuhane*.

While *menava* is to be translated as "breath," for the native it carries with it more than the sense of physical breath. It seems better, on account of the additional spiritual significance, to translate it "breath of life." A rite designed to strengthen the new-born child was described as being *na te menava* (for the breath) of the child. Again, one of the chants intoned after a death was explained to me to be *na te menava* (literally, for the breath; figuratively, for strengthening) of the dead person's spirit, which was about to depart.

JOURNEY OF THE SPIRIT TO THE SPIRIT WORLD

The spirit took its departure from the body at death by way of the mouth, being thought to leave some persons before physical death, others after. In Pua Ma'u it was said that the spirit went on its journey in the form of a dragon fly. Offerings—a pig's head and *kava*—were always put with the dead body in order to give its spirit means to gain admittance to the lower region. There were dangers from malicious demons (*vehine hae*, or *pepeke ou mei*), which were supposed to tear the spirit to pieces if they could come upon it. A dog was hung up near a dead body to chase away the evil spirits, and a pig was put under the legs of the corpse to furnish food for the demons while the spirit made its journey in safety.

According to the natives of Hiva Oa, spirits of all their dead went to the next world by way of the precipice at the western extremity of that island, named Kiukiu. It was believed that souls of the dead on Nuku Hiva, Ua Pou, and Tahu Ata returned to Hiva Oa and likewise took their departure at this point. Spirits were thought to leap from the precipice at Kiukiu, to land on a rock called Hi'ia, which turned with them and precipitated them into the sea. On Ua Huna, it was said that souls took their departure via Tetiutiu, the western point of the island (perhaps on their way to Hiva Oa). Tetiutiu is so suggestive of Kiukiu that it seems

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

possible that I misunderstood what was said by my informant. On Fatu Hiva there is a belief in spirits going to Havai'i by way of a spring called Te-vai-toetoe, which is located in a small valley on the east coast of the island. Several informants supported this evidence, which furnishes a distinct contrast to the beliefs held on the other islands.

THE SPIRIT WORLD

Below the earth were three lower regions known as Havai'i or Havaiki. The lowest was Havaiki-i-a'o-oa (*i a'o oa*, far below), described as a paradise where there was an abundance of ripe fruit, of good food, the best fish, and where beautiful women were abundant. Here dwelt the spirits of chiefs (sometimes said to dwell in the sky) for whom a great number of pigs were offered. Next above this was Havaiki-ta-a'o, (*a'o*, below) where there was an abundance of everything, but not the luxury of the lowest Havaiki. A certain number of pigs were necessary for entrance into this region. Lastly the upper region was Havaiki-ta-uka (*uka*, above). Here there were only misery and disgusting articles of food, brought down from the earth by *vehine hae* (evil spirits). Those who had offered, on behalf of their spirits, only one pig's head never went beyond this region. There was in addition a special region for those who had not even one head offered for them, the region of the god Tavi-oa, where the bodies of spirits lay in mire until someone offered a pig for them (19).

The chief of all Havai'i was Tonofiti (Tokohiti), whose wife was Fanau (Hanau). The guardian of the gate of the upper underworld was Ivieinui, whose wife was Uputonohiti. The guardian of the gate of the middle region was Pahuamo, and of the lowest of the underworlds, Teikiha'aotepo. These ruling deities and guardians had to be propitiated by means of gifts in order that the spirit might gain admittance to their realms.

There is no conception in the mind of the native today of Havai'i being a land whence their ancestors came—the people conceive of their human progenitors as having dwelt always in the Marquesas. Havai'i is a land of spirits below this world (*te ao ma'ama*) in which the living dwell. Havai'i is the land of the natives' ancestors in the sense that it is thought that the spirits of the dead dwell there, though no native conceives of his stock as having come from Havai'i, so far as I have learned. Men (*enata*) descended directly from the elements and deities that enacted the drama of generative creation. This drama is conceived of as having taken place in or about the region in which they now live.

In connection with these subjects, the phrases *i te tai i Havai'i* (in the seas, or times, of Havai'i) and *tai oa* (distant seas, or ancient times) were

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

commonly used. It was impossible to determine whether there was in their minds a sense of great distance or of great antiquity, when they used these phrases. These two conceptions, distinct for us, seem not to have been so to the old Marquesas islander. *Tai* means sea and it also means ancient times. The first phrase may, therefore, be translated either "in the seas (or region) of Havai'i" or "in the ancient times of Havai'i," and the second phrase, "distant seas," or "ancient times." The phrase *i a'o*, applied to Havai'i and other ancient lands may be translated either "below" or "to the westward."

The ancient chants and traditions indicate that formerly there was a conception of Havai'i as a land or region where men and gods lived in ancient times. Some of the ancient or distant lands mentioned in these chants have names familiar to us as names in other parts of Polynesia, such as Vevau, Tona Nui, Fiti Nui, Po'apo'a, Upo'u, and so on. When I questioned the informants who were working over these chants with me as to what or where these lands were, the reply was always, "They are lands, or regions in, or toward, Havai'i" (*he fenua i Havai'i*)—beyond that they knew nothing. Some of these names are also the local names of sections of land in the vicinity of the region of Hiva Oa, formerly called Vevau.

That the Havai'i of departed spirits was conceived of as a region below this world is clearly illustrated by the custom of looking down into the reflection in oil poured in the sea, or by looking into water in a taro leaf, to observe what was transpiring in Havai'i. There is, on the other hand, clear indication of the fact that the next world was conceived of as being a distant land, which was to be arrived at in canoes. Coffins, which were made in canoe shape, were called canoes (*vaka*). The house in which dead were treated was called literally canoe house (*fa'e vaka*). When a person expected to die, he would say, ordering that his coffin be prepared, "Make my canoe" (*Ta'ai tu'u vaka*). The descriptions given by early writers of sepulchral sacredplaces of chiefs, in which the bodies of the deceased were seated as though paddling in a small canoe, furnish another illustration of this, as does also the fact that the spirits of the dead journeyed westward on Hiva Oa and leaped into the sea from the western extremity of that island, indicating that Havai'i was originally conceived of as a land to the west. In summary it may be said that the evidence justifies the conclusion that, whereas Havai'i had recently come to be regarded as an underworld, it formerly meant an ancient and distant region to the westward.

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

674 young ones were not stolen, and then eaten to prevent detection. 1804. May.
I can easily credit this propensity to thieving, when I recollect, that the king's brother himself stole a piece of sugar from me, and, being accused of the crime, endeavoured, in the most bare-faced manner, to persuade me that it was committed by a duck which I had given him, and which was then under his arm.

• 775 It is proved by facts that ignorance is the mother of superstition. It will therefore excite no astonishment that the inhabitants of Noocahiva should possess this quality in the highest degree. Every one here is persuaded, that the soul of a grandfather is transmitted by Nature into the body of his [843] grandchildren; and that, if an unfruitful wife were to place herself under the corpse of her deceased grandfather, she would be 755 sure to become pregnant. It is also a current opinion, that there are individuals on the island who can cure the effects of the strongest poison, by simply rubbing the sides of the patient with their hands, which is supposed to make the poison come 776 out from under the ribs. But the belief in evil spirits has the 782 greatest weight, and is carried to the greatest absurdity amongst them; for it is imagined, that these spirits come sometimes into houses, and by whistling, and other more tremendous noises, demand pork and cava or ava, which, being placed in the middle of the room and covered, are immediately devoured by them. Surely these instances prove how insignificant, in its natural state, is the human understanding.

501 I saw none of the war-canoes of this place, and can therefore say nothing respecting them; but the common canoe is long and narrow, the bottom made out of a single tree, and fastened

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

168 child in the group. On Tahuata, the island next to the one on which I was living, there were over two hundred deaths for every birth.

Environment and Economy

133 The Marquesas are a series of high islands, very rugged and
775 mountainous. At the Western end of Hiva Oa, a cliff, straight as the wall of a house, rises from the sea to a height of 2,000 feet. The natives believe this to be the place from which the spirits of the dead leap off to the bottom of the sea, whence they travel eastward to Hawaiki, the mythical land from which
[713] all Polynesians came. At the top of this cliff lived a single priest whose duty it was to watch this leap and presumably say farewell to the ghost as he passed on to the next world. The priest
[211] kept records of each death and birth by means of a long cord, tying a knot for each birth and untying a knot for each death, thus keeping a sort of informal census for the group.

133 The islands have no coastal shelf; the coast goes down with no barrier reef, making fishing difficult and dangerous. The interior of the islands is extremely rugged, consisting chiefly of sections of blown-up volcanic craters with peaks four to five thousand feet high. Many of the larger islands have never been traversed even today. The coast is made up of narrow valleys cut off from one another by ridges so high and steep that in many cases one can get from one valley to another only by sea.
137 There is considerable timber in the valleys and also on the slopes at the eastern ends of the islands. The uplands are covered by a growth of low ferns, across which one can see for many miles. There are a few ironwood trees, but most of the high country is open and waterless.

132 Since the islands are only ten degrees south of the equator,
731 the climate is warm, with little seasonal change. Being north of the trade winds and consequently devoid of seasonal rains, the islands are subjected from time to time to long and destructive droughts, which lead to serious crop failures and even to shortage of drinking water, as the streams go dry. This state

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

body. This double was material, though of an extremely tenuous form of matter, and had the exact appearance of its living counterpart. During sleep this spirit left the body and wandered about freely, meeting the spirits of other sleeping individuals and conversing with them. Any transactions made during these conversations were considered valid and had to be fulfilled by the person on waking. These spirits were also seen by persons in the waking state, particularly by the priests, who frequently had to deal with straying spirits of the living.

At death the *uhane* left the body permanently. The natives believed that there was a whole series of upper and lower worlds to which the spirits of the dead went. Dead chiefs and priests of the higher order were deified by means of human sacrifices—ten human sacrifices, one for each of the ten parts of the body, were the necessary requirement for deification. These sacrifices had to be performed before the body was finally disposed of, thus giving the tribe a year or more in which to seize the captives and stage the ceremony. Persons who were sacrificed for deification ceased to have any existence as distinct individuals, since the soul of the dead chief or priest absorbed into itself the souls of the human sacrifices, and was in this way raised to superhuman power. The newly made god then rose to the sky world where dwelt the creation gods and the previously deified priests and chiefs. Such a god returned to the tribe frequently, not so much to punish his descendants as to demand sacrifices because he was hungry, or to aid them if they were in difficulty.

This deification of chiefs through human sacrifice had occurred well within the memory of a number of the old men with whom I talked during my stay in the islands. One man told me that he remembered the death of his chief about 1865 and the subsequent deification by the proper ritual. During the lifetime of the chief, his tribe had suffered numerous defeats at the hands of the tribe from the neighboring valley. After his spirit had been deified and his body disposed of, the chief's skull was placed on the prow of a war canoe in which his followers made a raid upon the enemy valley. They returned

CONTINUED
FROM
PRECEDING
FICHE

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos*, a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief.

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance.

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men.

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

expropriated a garden which belonged to a household of low rank. The wife sent her familiar to make the chief's wife sick and give her the appearance of pregnancy. When the chief's wife realized that her illness was due to magic, a ritual was performed to discover what *fanaua* was causing her trouble. As soon as she and her husband, the chief, learned the name of the *fanaua,* they knew who had sent it and why. The chief thereupon returned the garden, the spirit was called off, and his wife was well again. In cases where restitution was not made, however, the attack continued until the woman died.

Occasionally women who had *fanaua* were killed by the irate relatives of women whom their spirits had attacked. This was the only case in which men killed women, and even this seems to have been somewhat unusual and to have resulted in a blood feud.

The incidence of *fanaua* was about one to every three women. The *fanaua* themselves were graded in power, a *fanaua* who was a relative being considered more effective for defense than for offense. He protected his women against the attacks of other *fanaua* but would not act as a strong or constant aggressor against her enemies.

The *fanaua* belief had still another form. Not only the spirit of the woman who had the *fanaua* was united to him after death, but also the spirits of all the women whom he might have killed. For the victims, at least, this was a highly unpleasant relationship, and could be escaped only by directing the spirit to kill another woman to take the place of the first victim. A woman who died in childbirth was thus assumed to be united to a *fanaua* after death and eager to kill some other woman in order to escape from him. She might indicate the new victim to him, not out of personal animosity toward this woman but merely as a means of getting herself out of a bad spot. It was therefore dangerous for a woman to approach a place where a *fanaua's* victim was buried, since by doing so she might attract the dead woman's attention. Such victims were buried in places